



NATIONAL COALITION GOVERNMENT
UNION OF BURMA

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Concept paper : Programme of Action on Transition towards Democracy and Development in Burma.

1. The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) is cruising ahead towards the scheduled elections in 2010 in accordance with its seven point road map.
2. The opposition parties will have to decide whether to engage in the political process drawn up by the SPDC and, in this connection, the elections. Whatever is decided, in order not to become completely irrelevant, and also with a view to provide the international community with a credible platform to support democratic change in Burma; NCGUB, as the government-in-exile, has decided to take the lead to develop an agenda and action plan to manage the democratic transition in Burma.
3. Such an initiative could also serve as a rallying point for seeking greater coherence and possibly a united voice on policies and action among pro-democracy and ethnic groups as well as representatives of civil society.
4. A Programme of Action towards Democracy and Development in Burma will include as the key elements the following subjects:
 - a. Constitutional Framework, including rights of communities/ethnic groups,
 - b. Electoral law and system,
 - c. An economic plan,
 - d. Security Review
 - e. A plan for reconciliation,
 - f. A plan on the return of refugees and displaced persons.
5. The Programme of Action plan will cover the above individual subjects but also seek strategic coherence of the individual components.
6. A lot of work, led by or with the involvement of NCGUB, has gone into preparing papers on most of the issues mentioned in para 4 above (Constitution, Economic Review, Reconciliation). There is, however, a need to review and update existing papers and to develop papers on subjects not covered until now, such as Security Sector Review/Reform and the return of refugees and displaced persons.
7. Logistics:

- a. The NCGUB will present the Programme of Action at a Convention in May, 2009. The Convention should agree on the Programme and on the Action Plan for its

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- implementation, including how to promote the action plan inside Burma as well as internationally.
- b. Participants would be relevant pro-democracy groups, ceasefire and other ethnic groups, Burmese civil society, and a select and limited number of international supporters.
8. NCGUB would hold preparatory talks with pro-democracy and ethnic groups prior to the Convention to prepare the ground for constructive discussions at the Convention with a view to achieving endorsement of the Programme of Action. Key international stakeholders should also be consulted, with particular attention to states in the immediate neighboring region and their support for the Programme.
 9. After the adoption of the Programme by the Convention, NCGUB and/or a representative group of the Convention would brief members of the Security Council, ASEAN, EU and other important stakeholders. NCGUB would suggest that a small group of “Friends of Democratic Transition in Burma” be formed, aimed at monitoring and supporting the implementation of the Programme of Action including by maintaining the momentum of pressure on the SPDC to engage in a dialogue on transition.
 10. Independent Diplomat (ID) will throughout the process be available to provide strategic advice and technical assistance to enable it to lead the process – politically and operationally. ID will make available to NCGUB a coordinator with responsibility to put together the Programme of Action. ID will also set up a reference group of international experts on Burma.
 11. Above mentioned concept paper on Programme of Action on Transition towards Democracy and Development in Burma has been discussed and endorsed by the 4th Congress of Members of Parliament, Burma (MPU) and strategic consultation meeting with leaders from allied organizations convened in Dublin on 20-26 January, 2009.

The Fourth Congress
of the
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT UNION - BURMA

20-23 January 2009
Malahide, Ireland

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OUR APPRECIATION

We, the Members of Parliament Union - Burma, meeting here in Malahide, Ireland, from 20-23 January 2009, wish to express our profound thanks to the Government of the Republic of Ireland and to Burma Action Ireland for their strong support and assistance without which our Congress and consultation meeting with different democracy and ethnic organizations of Burma would not have been possible. Thanks to the generous and wholehearted support of the Government of the Republic of Ireland and Burma Action Ireland, we, the elected representatives of Burma, have been able to hold two Congresses in this hospitable country; the first one was in Dublin in 2000.

OUR VIEW & DEMAND

With regard to Burma, we are deeply concerned over the growing socioeconomic and political crises which are the result of the abuse of power, mismanagement, and short-sighted and intolerant policies of the Burmese military regime.

We are also concerned that the Burmese generals have prioritized their pursuance of the legitimization of military rule in Burma by unilaterally moving ahead with its planned elections in 2010 while the whole country is in the depths of despair and desolation as a result of poverty brought on by chronic mismanagement and policy failure. The situation is compounded by the devastation of Cyclone Nargis last year and the ongoing global economic crisis.

We are appalled that the Burmese generals, who, while clamoring about democracy, have turned their backs on every democratic principle and are committing the worst crimes against democracy activists and members of political parties, using thugs and apparatchiks to lawlessly overpower dissidents and cruelly impose long and harsh prison terms without proper trial and through the state-influenced judiciary, which is even impudently jailing lawyers defending democracy activists.

We are concerned that national leaders U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi are still under house arrest and U Khun Tun Oo is being made to serve an extraordinarily lengthy prison term. Political detainees, including 17 elected representatives and all leading members of the 88 Generation Students, were vindictively sentenced to decades-long

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prison terms. Many of the political prisoners, including elected representatives, are ailing -- some with serious ailments -- because of harsh prison conditions, lack of medical care, or refusal by the authorities to let them receive proper treatment. World governments, international human rights institutions, and the United Nations should not let this intolerable situation continue. We call on them to urgently step in to secure their release as soon as possible.

We are deeply disappointed that the Burmese regime, which is a member of the United Nations and obligated to uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and all other international human rights standards and conventions to which it is a signatory, continues to violate with impunity the worst kind of human rights abuses, including Article 21 (3) of the UDHR which states that "*the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government*", the launching of military offensives in ethnic areas with disregard for human suffering and destruction of life and property, the use of torture, summary and arbitrary executions, massive employment of forced labor and forced portering for the military, and violence against women, including rape.

We are also concerned for the future of our country given the fact that the quality of education has drastically declined, with drop out rates increasing even at the primary school level, and infant mortality rate rising. The Burmese generals who in the past decades had sacrificed the future of many young people by ignoring their education and health care are once again gambling with the lives of the next generation of young leaders. These generals are also showing lack of concern for the spread of HIV/AIDS and drug resistant strains of tuberculosis and malaria. Hence, we hereby issue the following declaration:

MPU DECLARATION (MALAHIDE - 2009)

REAFFIRMATION

The MPU reaffirms that it will:

- a) Strive to bring an end to authoritarian rule and military-dominated politics in Burma and restore democracy and human rights in Burma
- b) Endeavor to become a potent force that democracy and ethnic movements inside the country can rely on
- c) Contribute to the establishment of a Federal Union of Burma which guarantees equal rights to all citizens regardless of ethnicity, gender, and belief

OUR ROLE & MANDATE

- a) Our role is to support and facilitate the National League for Democracy (NLD) and other election-winning parties to bring democracy and national reconciliation to the country.

- b) Our mandate is derived from the election victory of the NLD and other political parties in the 1990 general elections.

OUR BELIEFS

- A. The MPU firmly believes that the 2008 Constitution of the Burmese regime will not lead to democracy, resolve national problems, or bring peace and prosperity to the nation. The military leaders should review the constitution together with the NLD and other stakeholders so that constitutional amendments can be made to lessen military control over different aspects of political life and remove restrictions imposed on fundamental rights of the people of all nationalities.
- B. The MPU is convinced that only an inclusive, equitable, and transparent common program involving all national forces can help resolve Burma's socioeconomic and political problems peacefully.

With this in mind, the MPU believes that the following steps should be taken by the Burmese generals to urgently begin a process of national reconciliation:

- a) *Freedom for Political Prisoners*
Immediately and unconditionally release NLD leaders U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Shan Nationalities League for Democracy Chairman U Khun Tun Oo, detained elected representatives, and all other political prisoners, including leading members of the 88 Generation Students, so that they can participate in the national political process
- b) *Dialog*
Immediately accept NLD's offer for a dialog to pave the way for a peaceful and democratic transition within a set timeframe.
- c) *Ambience*
While revoking all unjust laws and orders which criminalize legal political activities, conditions conducive to a credible democratic transition should be created and this should be done by lifting restrictions on basic political freedoms, such as freedom of association, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly to ensure that the people can freely participate in the political process.
- d) *UN Mediation*
Extend sincere cooperation with the good offices of the UN Secretary-General and accept its offer to mediate and help resolve Burma's political stalemate.

OUR PROGRAMS

Preparing for the future

- a) We, the MPU, fully endorse the initiative by the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) to introduce a common program of action for the democracy movement. The NCGUB believes that the military-backed elections in 2010 will not positively contribute to national reconciliation and nation building and that there is need to go through a democratic transition period during which issues burdening the nation will have to be resolved by all national forces. The MPU will contribute to the development of a common program of action which should be based on commonality of goals among democratic and ethnic organizations. Since all organizations and people inside the country commonly agree on a federal constitution and democratic principles, actions based on needs such as repatriation and resettlement of refugees, demobilization of armed forces, public welfare programs, land reform, rebuilding harmony between the civilian and military sectors, and other issues will be addressed in the common program. We, therefore, welcome initiatives underway where clusters of experts are working to resolve issues which we foresee will be burdening the nation during a democratic transition. The MPU will work hand in hand with democracy and ethnic organizations to implement the movement's democratic and federal goals as outlined in the proposed common program of action which is vitally needed not only to rebuild the nation but also to prepare for the future.

Global

- b) Globally, we will also focus on keeping the international community informed about the Burmese military junta's attempt to legitimize military rule through its 2008 State Constitution which was unilaterally drafted and passed without the participation of the election winning parties, like the NLD and the Shan Nationalities League for Democracy. The truth about the Burmese generals' scheme will be informed through the media, the International Parliamentary Union, the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Myanmar Caucus (AIPMC), international coalition of political parties, parliamentarian friends of Burma groups, as well as friendly parliamentarians, and others.

Domestic

- c) Our long-term programs for Burma aim for the emergence of an empowered civil society. To achieve this, the MPU will continue to encourage and support participation of the people in the political process, undertake capacity building programs like education on human rights, democratic governance, sustainable development, federalism, conflict resolution, and other relevant subjects. The MPU will also continue supporting non-violent activities of the democracy movement, including human rights monitoring, policy advocacy, and development of alternative media.

OUR POSITION

The International Community

- a) We believe that the international community, particularly regional countries, should be actively involved in resolving Burma's problems. Neighboring and interested countries can concertedly push for a dialog among the stakeholders in Burma so that a dialog for national reconciliation can take place. At the same time, they should support initiatives by the United Nations to forge a path by which such a dialog can take place.
- b) The UN Secretary-General should also conduct a goals-oriented tour of Burma but only when the Burmese generals are prepared to compromise.

Pressure Mechanisms

The MPU reaffirms that under the present circumstances, various pressure mechanisms adopted by different countries are an effective tool to persuade the Burmese military regime to recognize the crises in the country and need for peaceful resolution. They are part of the overall international strategy to facilitate a tripartite dialogue in Burma, and most importantly, they deprive resources to the regime which is unnecessarily spending more on its war budget than on socioeconomic needs of the people

Pressure mechanisms by the international community also proves to democracy movement leaders and others struggling for democracy inside Burma that they are not alone in their fight for freedom and human rights

Many non-binding international resolutions and opinions, such as ILO and UNGA resolutions, also generate a material impact on the regime.

Humanitarian Assistance

- a) Humanitarian assistance delivered to the people of Burma should be transparent and accountable, independently monitored, and channeled through credible international NGOs with mechanisms installed to handle complaints.
- b) Humanitarian assistance for refugees and IDPs should commiserate with the increasing number of refugees fleeing into neighboring countries and internally displaced persons resulting from military offensives and forced relocation by the Burmese Army.

- c) Tens of thousands of people lost their family members, property, and means of earning a livelihood in regions hit by Cyclone Nargis last year. Reconstruction, resettlement, and rehabilitation programs for the cyclone victims will probably take several more years of national efforts. It is vital to ensure that independent monitoring and complaint handling mechanisms are in place to ensure that international delivered assistance packages actually reach the needy and that the programs are transparent and accountable.

SALUTATIONS

- a) We are humbled by the selfless endeavors of our colleagues inside Burma whose sacrifice and courageous efforts to further the cause of democracy and human rights, particularly at this juncture when the Burmese military is ruthlessly and vengefully punishing dissidents. They will go down as heroes in history. We salute them.
- b) We also wish to state that we are fully aware of the threats and harassments against leading members of the democracy and ethnic movement inside the country and the serious risks they are taking to express their political opinions and beliefs publicly in support of democracy, justice, and human rights. We salute them.

ELECTING A NEW CABINET

In accordance with democratic principles, we, the Members of the Parliament Union - Burma, have been electing a new prime minister to head the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma once every four years. In keeping up with that practice, we are proud to announce that Dr Sein Win was re-elected as the prime minister on the final day of our Congress on 23 January 2009.

Six ministers were named to the Cabinet each of whom was confirmed through secret balloting.

The newly elected Cabinet (portfolios to be named later):

No	Title	Name	Township Constituency	Position
1	Dr	Sein Win	Paukkaung	Prime Minister
2	U	Bo Hla Tint	Mogok - 2	Minister
3	Khun	Myint Tun	Thaton	Minister
4	Khon	Manko Ban	Pekon	Minister
5	Dr	Tint Swe	Pale - 2	Minister
6	U	Tun Win	Minbya	Minister
7	U	Win Hlaing	Tatkon	Minister

Since two elected ministers were from MPU Standing Committee, an election was held to fill the vacated MPU Standing Committee posts. The two elected to the MPU Standing Committee are: U Maung Maung Aye of Mandalay Northeast Constituency, Mandalay Division, and U Aung Tun Sein of Ponnagyun Constituency, Arakan Statc.

The present MPU Standing Committee members are:

No	Title	Name	Township Constituency	Position
1	U	Teddy Buri	Loikaw	Chairman
2	Daw	San San	Seikkan	Vicc Chair
3	U	Thein Oo	Mandalay Southwest-2	Secretary
4	U	Maung Mg Aye	Mandalay Northeast	Joint Secretary
5	Naing	Thaung Shein	Kawkareik-2	Member
6	U	U Hla Oo	Kyauktaga	Member
7	U	Aung Tun Sein	Ponnagyun	Member

List of MPs who attended the Fourth Congress:

No	Title	Name	Township Constituency
1	U	Aung Tun Sein	Ponnagyun
2	U	Bo Hla Tint	Mogok-2
3	U	Bo Thaung	Yinmabin-1
4	U	Chit Tin	Minhla
5	U	Daniel Aung	Mong Ping
6	Duwa	Zau Awng	Waingmaw
7	U	Hla Oo	Kyauktaga
8	U	Khin Kyaw Han	Yenangyaung-2
9	Khun	Myint Tun	Thaton
10	U	Kyaw Thwin	Kayan-1
11	U	Lian Uk	Haka
12	Khon	Manko Ban	Pekon
13	U	Maung Maung Aye	Mandalay Northeast
14	U	Maung Maung Latt	Bilin-1
15	U	Mya Win	Ingabu-1
16	Naing	Thaung Shein	Kawkareik-2
17	U	Peter Limbin	Pyin Oo Lwin
18	Daw	San San	Seikkan
19	Dr	Sann Aung	Ingabu-2
20	Dr	Sein Win	Paukkaung
21	Saw	Tar Roo Too	Pasawng
22	U	Teddy Buri	Loikaw
23	U	Oo Tha Noe	Rathedaung
24	U	Than Sein	Pale-1
25	Pu	Thang Lian Pau	Tongzang
26	U	Thein Oo	Mandalay Southwest-2
27	U	Tin Tun Aung	Yinmabin
28	Dr	Tint Swe	Pale-2
29	U	Tun Win	Minbya
30	U	Win Hlaing	Tatkon
31	Sai	Win Pay	Mong Hsu
32	Dr	Zahlei Thang	Falam

Unity for Democracy and Civil Liberties

Ethnic, Democratic Organizations from Burma To Work for Integrated Action Plan

Malahide, Ireland
26 January 2009

1. We, the organizations listed below, wish to express our profound thanks to the Government of the Republic of Ireland and Burma Action Ireland for their generous and kind support which has enabled us to meet here in Malahide, Ireland, from 24 to 26 January 2009.
2. We wish to express our deep appreciation and highest regards to the "Heroes of Democracy" in our country who continue to struggle with perseverance and determination to bring fundamental rights and freedom to the people of Burma in spite of the extreme risks involved.
3. We also wish to salute our courageous colleagues, many of whom have lost their lives and those who continue to languish in prison under harsh conditions, because of their efforts for democracy and civil liberties.
4. We call on the international community to help secure the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, including detained elected representatives, NLD leaders U Tin Oo and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, ethnic and democracy leaders, including Shan Nationalities League for Democracy Chairman U Khun Tun Oo, and leading members of the 88 Generation Students.
5. We are deeply appreciative of all Burma support groups, NGOs, and institutions which have tirelessly been extending assistance to the Burmese democracy movement and working for democracy in our country.
6. Burma is entering a critical period as the Burmese generals are trying to legitimize military rule in the country on the basis of a unilaterally written constitution and through elections scheduled in 2010.
7. We, therefore, unequivocally declare that we cannot accept the military sponsored constitution of 2008 in its current form. There is still time and opportunities are still available to correct the situation. We unanimously agree to pursue whatever options are available with determination and understanding in the interests of the nation.
8. We are committed to develop a unified leadership with an integrated action plan to achieve common objectives of establishing democracy and federalism in Burma.

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AAPP	Assistance Association for Political Prisoners
ABSDF	All Burma Students' Democratic Front
CFOB	Canadian Friends of Burma
ENC	Ethnic Nationalities Council
FBF	Free Burma Federation
FDB	Forum for Democracy in Burma
IBMO	International Burmese Monks Organization
MPU	Members of Parliament Union
NLD-LA	National League for Democracy - Liberated Area
SYCB	Students and Youth Congress of Burma
WLB	Women's League of Burma
NCGUB	National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma